

# DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

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WHOLE NO. 158.

## THE ANARCHIST SIDE.

The attempt on McKinley's life has aroused a storm of indignation; and the capitalist press is shrieking for condign punishment, not only for the assailant of the president, but for all who presume to espouse the Anarchist theory. In times of popular passion the quiet voice of reason is scarcely heard. Yet, even at such a time, it will not be amiss to offer some correction of the current misstatements.

It cannot be too emphatically insisted on that there is absolutely nothing in the Anarchist philosophy which constitutes, directly or indirectly, an incitement to assassination. This is true in the fullest sense, without reservation or equivocation. Some Anarchists, such as Comrade Van Ornum, whose article appears in this issue, believe that Anarchy implies absolute nonresistance. I do not myself go so far as this; but it has long been my settled conviction that the taking of human life is only justifiable when absolutely necessary for selfdefence, taking the term in its literal and obvious sense.

During my connection with the Anarchist propaganda, I never heard of Czolgosz; although I have lectured in Cleveland within the past two years, and met most of the Anarchists there. I do not say that the man is not an Anarchist; but I do assert most positively that this act of his does not represent the Anarchist movement, and that the teaching of the principles of Anarchy does not even have a tendency to incite men to such acts. Anarchism represents an endeavor to apply scientific principles to social evolution. It points to the horrors of existing conditions, in support of its argument relative to the inevitable result of social institutions. Nothing can be more legitimate than this, or less inclined to work harm in the long run. The suppression of free speech is ten thousand times more dangerous and deadly in its final effects than the over-inflammatory utterances of the most impassioned orator.

I do not believe the story attributed to Czolgosz, that a speech of Emma Goldman fired him with the impulse to slay McKinley. If such statements are to be accepted at their face value, not a public speaker in the country is safe. I know Emma Goldman well, and have often heard her lecture. She is fearless and emphatic in her denunciation of existing evils; but I never knew her to use language calculated to influence any man to assassinate another; nor is such an act in any way the logical outcome of her teachings. Desperate conditions create desperate men. As long as there is suffering and degradation, violent hands will be raised, from time to time, against the rulers of the earth. This is a purely individual result, and has absolutely no connection with any propaganda whatever. If there had never been any Anarchist propaganda, there would have been at least as many as-

saults on the mighty ones of the earth as have actually taken place. In fact, I believe there would have been many more; inasmuch as a gleam of hope for the future leads many embittered sufferers from existing conditions to throw themselves with ardor into the peaceful and enduring work of education; whereas, but for the existence of such a movement to engage their energies, they would assuredly have been driven to the blackest despair, and rendered capable of the most desperate and ruthless acts against their oppressors. If the Anarchist movement, with its message of hope and promise, could be blotted out tomorrow, the calamity would be worldwide and the lives of rulers would be much less secure than even at the present time. The existence of the peaceable, orderly, educational Anarchist propaganda is a safeguard, rather than a menace. I am aware that not all will agree with me; but I know whereof I speak. Anarchy is the science of society. Its function is to prepare the minds of men for the advent of a new social order. It is not to be dreaded; for it cannot be put into practice, until the great body of the people have come to recognize its desirability. If the theory is as inherently absurd as its opponents seek to make out, it is the acme of absurdity to fear that it will ever become popular and dominant. On the other hand, if there is convincing logic behind it, the believer in majority rule cannot deny that the same majority which now enforces government has at least an equal right, guaranteed in fact by the Declaration of Independence, to discard it altogether. In either case, persecution is as futile as it is grossly and cruelly unjust.

Will governments never learn that their security is not to be promoted by stifling the voice of discontent, but by removing its cause? It is the silent hatred which is most to be dreaded. A happy and prosperous people will breed no malcontents or assassins. Homicidal frenzy will not be engendered in men living under normal conditions; nor will any public speaker's justifiable criticism be cited by even the weakest mind as a pretext for killing the merely nominal head of those institutions.

The arrest of our comrades in Chicago is an outrage incapable of extenuation. I know Comrades A. Isaak, Abe Isaak, Jr., Pfuetzner and Schneider too well to admit even the remotest possibility of their being implicated in any "plot" against the life of McKinley or anybody else. They are too busy in the work of education to have any time to spare in forming desperate conspiracies. Their arrest, together with the plan to arrest Emma Goldman when she can be found, affords a fresh illustration of the spirit of police persecution, which bursts forth with ever increasing virulence, wherever Anarchists are concerned. It should be the care of comrades everywhere to stand by those who

are suffering for the cause, and to see to it that Free Society is kept afloat, to continue its invaluable service in behalf of the Anarchist propaganda.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## "RESIST NOT EVIL."

I know I shall invoke the criticism and ridicule of those who pride themselves on having thrown off what they call Christian superstition when I announce myself a believer in the Christian doctrine of nonresistance. I call it Christian, not because it forms any part of the teachings of the so-called Christian church, for it does not. But if Christian means anything it means the body of teaching promulgated by Jesus, called the Christ. If the church does not adhere to those teachings, so much the worse for the church. It, to that extent, forfeits its claim to the name Christian. But the absence of this doctrine from the faith and practice of the so-called Christian church does not constitute its only departure from the essential doctrines of the Nazarene. If the church stood today for the social and economic teachings of Jesus it would become the home of every Anarchist and Socialist in this world.

I say I believe in the doctrine of nonresistance, taking resistance to mean forcible or violent resistance to aggression. Not that I always practice what I believe, for I still have enough of the Devil (or evil) in me to overcome my better intentions. Nor do I believe in nonresistance because Jesus taught it; but because I have come to recognize it as the most effective resistance in this world. As an illustration of this, take the respective standings of Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoi before the people and rulers of Russia today. Here are two men of about equal prominence and abilities originally, one a pronounced revolutionist and the other a consistent nonresistant Christian. Both belonged to the aristocratic class, and both have devoted their lives and fortunes for the uplifting of the people. The revolutionary doctrines of one have brought upon himself the hatred and persecution of the rulers until he has been driven forth an exile from his native land without any general hold upon the sympathies and affection of the mass of his countrymen. His power for good among his own people is extremely limited. The nonresistant doctrines of the other have enabled him to carry forward his work almost unmolested right in the heart of Russia. He has gained a place in the affections of his countrymen so deep, strong and widespread that the rulers are exceeding loth to molest him for fear of those very people. Nor has his influence been confined to Russia. His works are read all over the civilized world, a hundred times more than those of the other. I do not say this to disparage Kropotkin, for I love and revere him as one of the heroic souls who have gladly laid down their lives for the peo-

ple. But I cannot help contrasting the results gained, which, I believe, are due, more than anything else, to the different methods employed. If I wish to accomplish a certain result it seems to me the part of wisdom to use such means and agencies as will bring the best returns with the least outlay of effort and expense. Carry out this principle and we find that it squares perfectly with the fundamental principles of Anarchy.

Anarchists deny the right of any man or set of men to govern other men. They claim the right to judge for themselves what is good for them, what course of action will bring happiness or misery, and to act accordingly. In other words, they insist on being a law unto themselves. And, in order to be logical, they must concede the same rights to others that they claim for themselves. According to this, no man has a right to sit in judgment on or punish another for anything. But condemnation or denunciation for acts performed or opinions held, on last analysis, are only forms of punishment. So that when we denounce or condemn other people for anything we are violating one of the fundamental principles which we profess. It makes no difference how unwise, how foolish, or even how vicious, those acts or opinions may seem to us, we cannot be true Anarchists and still sit in judgment on them. This applies just as well to those who oppose Anarchy—the rulers—as it does to anybody else. In order to carry out our own professions we cannot sit in judgment even upon the rulers of the people. There is no other course left us but nonresistance.

"Well," some one will say, "if we can't condemn men, we can condemn the things that men do. We will denounce injustice, exploitation and the robbery of the people by law." But let's see! If the principles of Anarchy are true they are capable of being applied universally; for truth is universal. How is it possible to separate the wrong from the wrongdoer? To condemn a specific injustice is to condemn the author of that injustice. To do it we must sit in judgment on both the act and the actor. There is no weapon left us except that of nonresistance; but it is the strongest weapon in this world. For this reason, the greatest Anarchist the world has ever seen said, "Be ye not overcome by evil but overcome evil with good." Again: "It has been said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you RESIST NOT EVIL." This is the power that is invincible. Love makes no enemies, while it conquers the world. We can make a hundred times more progress by the practice of patience and forbearance under injustice, while never failing to hold up before men the fact that there is a better way, than we can by fighting or talking fight.

On the other hand, it is always true that "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." He that entereth into strife and contention is sure to be worn out in the struggle. He is at the wrong end of the lever. The advantages are all against him. He makes enemies where he might make friends. He invites the very troubles which he is striving to resist. It is love that moves the world.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

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## OFF AND ON.

I have no "criticism and ridicule" for Comrade Van Ornum, for merely accepting what appears to him true in the Christian's textbook. I believe that there are many noble truths among the teachings popularly attributed to the man called Jesus. I do not, however, believe that he, any more than Buddha and Socrates, was by any means infallible, or invariably correct in his views. He was immeasurably ahead of his own time; but the world has had the opportunity of learning many lessons since his day. If I dissent from Comrade Van Ornum's extreme application of the theory of nonresistance, it is not because it is a "Christian" doctrine, but because it is not altogether reasonable to my mind.

Comrade Van Ornum cites the persecution of Kropotkin and the comparative immunity of Tolstoi as evidence of the validity of his claim that nonresistance is "the most effective resistance in this world." The extreme revolutionist might retort, that this very fact proved that Russian tyranny saw that it had nothing to fear from the application of Tolstoi's theories, and that he was not really their enemy. I do not, however, take this position. I see good in the methods of Tolstoi, as well as in those of Kropotkin. There is plenty of room for both of them. But our comrade's method of contrasting the results of their respective efforts is surprising, to say the least. Kropotkin is not a man for Russia alone, but for the whole world. His influence and the work he has accomplished cannot be determined by the use of any tapemeasure at our disposal. He is building for the future, and is laying the foundations broad and deep. He has sown and is sowing seed which, in the fulness of time, will bring forth an abundant harvest. Who shall say how many minds he has awakened, how many hearts he has quickened into zeal for action? Dare Comrade Van Ornum, or any other man, looking only at the present appearance of things, discount the future, and assume that this work is to no effect? By what right assume that the revolutionary leaven at work in society is to remain devoid of ultimate result? Persecution has not always (if it ever has) quenched the zeal of the followers of a new ideal; nor has freedom from persecution proved to be an invariable test of the superiority of the methods employed. To submit tamely to aggression, is often to invite a repetition of the offence. There is nothing more pleasing to despots than the belief in and practice of absolute nonresistance on the part of their subjects and victims. It is a good sign in Comrade Van Ornum that he has "enough of the devil" in him to neutralize his too extreme theory.

His farther contention that denunciation and condemnation are forms of

punishment and coercion, and hence of invasion, leads him to strange conclusions. Logically carried out, it would abrogate the entire Anarchist propaganda, and indeed all progress. Great social changes are not brought about without effort, by the timely intervention of some mysterious power. If we wish to bring about better conditions, we must learn and point out the defects in the present order of things. The alternative is between active propaganda and absolute quiescence; and nothing has ever yet been accomplished by mere inaction.

But Comrade Van Ornum urges that, as Anarchists, we have no right to "sit in judgment" on anybody, "even upon the rulers of the people." This looks like an attempt to reduce Anarchism to a proposition of self-evident absurdity. To conclude that, because we preach noninvasion, we must therefore submit tamely and unresistingly to the grossest invasions, is to draw an extraordinary corollary. There is all the difference in the world between self-defence and aggression. Anarchy declares war on the latter, under all its forms, and especially on government as the giant aggressor. It certainly does not call on the individual to abandon voluntarily all his means of self protection, and to deliver himself up, bound hand and foot, to every invader that happens to come along. Anarchy is active, not passive. It is a strong gospel, not a weak one. It breathes the spirit of eternal resistance to injustice, not of slavish submission to it.

True it is, that the gentler method is often the best, and is always preferable when possible. The underlying note in Anarchism, as in all true human life, is love—broad, universal love. But there are times when the righting of age-long wrongs is stubbornly resisted by those whose eyes are blinded and sympathies dulled by the lust of power. Then it is that, in the eloquent words of Swinburne: "Love turns Hate for Love's sake." It is not revenge, but rectification, that is the aim of the revolutionist. He is aware of the dangers and difficulties involved; but he knows that the end is fully worth them all. He is not engaged in child's play, but in a mighty struggle for human liberty; and he cannot be made to see that doing nothing and suffering everything is a very powerful and effective means of advancing the interests of the propaganda.

Comrade Van Ornum quotes approvingly the saying attributed to the Nazarene: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." Without doubt, there is an element of truth in the statement; but how is it to be applied? It is the rulers of the earth who have taken up the sword against their fellow-men. Their power rests not on justice, but on force; and its overthrow by a superior force may be safely predicted.

Since Comrade James has such implicit faith in the inerrancy of the "regular" school of medicine—a faith which he is far from extending to the regular schools of law, theology, finance or commerce—it is no wonder that he can see no good in anything outside. If it is none of his business "to investigate the claims of osteopathy or hydrotherapy," it is still less his business to sneer at

them without investigation. He is sure that the regular school "will adopt all of these systems except their quackery." So am I; but it is a question of time. I am in no sense identified with the "antics," nor hostile to the "regulars." What I have criticized from the start has been the dogmatism and intolerance on both sides, and the attempt to make either a test of Anarchism. The "inductive method" is certainly correct; but the individual members of the school professing it are not therefore emancipated from commercial considerations, which tend to bias their judgment, and to predispose them to dismiss new theories and propositions with totally insufficient investigation, if the extent of their own practice seems likely to be seriously affected by the general adoption of the new ideas. Hence, too, the monopolistic character of the legislation sought by them, under the pretext of preserving the public health. The "inductive method" should need no props, other than the clear evidence of its own superiority.

Comrade James disputes the fact that a monopoly is sought, claiming, in effect, that only malpractice and false representation are punished, and that this "is common law." In Massachusetts, three or four years ago, I had occasion to look up the court record in the case of a chiropodist, who had been sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred dollars, on complaint of Dr. Harvey, secretary of the State Board of Registration. I did not trust to second-hand statements, but made a personal examination of the official stenographic report of the trial; so that I know exactly whereof I speak. The man's crime was not that of pretending to be a physician; for the record shows that he made no such claim. Nor was it malpractice; for the correctness and efficacy of his method were not disputed; and he had cured his patient. His sole offence was that of trenching on the domain of the monopoly—accepting a fee for the treatment of disease. He had not studied medicine in general, but had given special attention to the structure and diseases of the foot, which he was more competent than the average physician to treat. Yet Comrade James can see no difference between this man and the "firebug," and finds no monopoly in the injustice which fines him for applying a lotion, and thereby curing a simple disorder of the foot. Under cross examination, Dr. Harvey testified that all such washes, and any form of external application or manipulation, which might cure disease, constituted surgery.

The following year this same Dr. Harvey, being a member of the state senate, introduced An Act for the Registration of Physicians and Surgeons, which was as frankly monopolistic as any measure that has ever come under my observation. By the provisions of this extraordinary bill, only three forms of medical practice were recognized—those of the allopathic, homeopathic and eclectic schools; and all who desired to practise medicine in the State must pass through the gateway of one of these three. (This coalition, by the way, brought about by the rapid growth of the younger schools, is only of recent date. It is not so very many years since the allopathic physicians were denouncing the homeopaths as the worst kind of quacks, and were seeking

stringent legislation against them. In one of the New England States a physician was expelled from the State Medical Society, for having held a professional consultation with a homeopathic physician.) The provisions regarding surgery were no less proscriptive, and, by Dr. Harvey's definition, would have forced every manicurist, chiropodist and massage operator, and most barbers, to take the full course necessary to equip them as professional surgeons, or else to go out of business.

Of course, so sweeping a measure aroused a storm of opposition. Most of the daily papers remained neutral, not knowing which way to jump. Not one of them, however, dared to publish a transcript, without comment, of Dr. Harvey's testimony in the trial above referred to, because, as one editor said to me: "We would not like to offend Dr. Harvey just now." Boston Ideas, a semi-progressive weekly, did admit a letter on the subject, but foxily added a postscript, quoting Dr. Harvey as saying that his bill was aimed only at the "quacks," and would not affect the classes named. Innocent, guileless Ideas! It omitted to explain how Dr. Harvey could juggle away his sworn testimony, ranking chiropodists and the like as surgeons.

The measure was defeated, in spite of all the efforts of the "regulars" to secure its passage. Among the most earnest opponents of the bill was Professor William James of Harvard. Thus the James family is divided against itself.

As Comrade James presents no new argument in support of Malthusianism, his repeated dogmatic assertions that it is true carry no weight, and require no further refutation. Those wishing to read both sides of the argument are referred to Nos. 151 and 154 of DISCONTENT.

At first blush, Comrade Labadie's inquiries, in No. 156 of DISCONTENT, would appear to be extremely pertinent. It is certainly true that "if freedom cannot be applied to every practical question that may arise, the theory of Anarchy breaks down at its most vital point. This, however, is quite a different matter from predicting the exact manner in which free men and women will adjust the details of their affairs. In the very nature of the case, this is impossible, even were it desirable. A purely mechanical theory of society, like State Socialism, may profess to tell in advance exactly how the trick will be done; but the evolutionist, or Anarchist, knows better. He finds the correct underlying principle, and applies it to the details, as they arise. The comrades at Home are not crossing any bridges before they come to them. As their needs have grown, they have been met, without straining the principle of liberty. Past experience affords a surer warrant for the future than any number of plausible prophecies; for with applied theories, as with individuals, it is true that "He that is faithful in that which is least will be faithful also in much."

The ill-starred Ruskin community has yielded up the ghost. Cause, too much authoritarianism. Ruskin, with its splendid opportunities, serves only to point the moral that lasting success in cooperative effort is incompatible with the invasion of personal liberty.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## MORRIS' MOONSHINE—ETCETERA.

If John A. Morris had not got mad and quit taking Free Society he would have learned better by this time than to repeat, after Brann (or Chaff, or anyone else,) so many lies about the French revolution. The last number of the same leading anarchistic journal would have afforded him also an opportunity to learn (from me) what rot it is to talk like a cornered preacher about the falsities of scientific hypotheses. He had better take to reading Free Society again, and get his utter blank ignorance of science—her methods, purposes, language, and status—just a little bit illuminated. For I won't repeat the lesson, at cost of space in DISCONTENT, to benefit one scholar who played truant in a fit of sulks. If, indeed, I was a harsh teacher, addicted to Busbyan use of the birch, then Morris, I admit, is the very pupil who would have had reason to run away from me. But, in truth, I am nothing of the sort. I'm one of old Horace's bland doctors, who had always rather give a slow boy a ginger-bread nut by making his A B C intelligible. (N. B.—Morris is not expected to understand this allusion; but the nearest of his Catholic priests can tell him what it means.)

Before, however, he goes into ecstasies over the priest's learning I want him to muse upon the fact, if he knows it (the priest at all events does), that the Catholic church was on the height of her power during the midnight of the dark ages, when, as Alfred the Great complained, not one priest south of the Thames, and very few north, could read either English or Latin. Catholic priests have become a fairly learned body of men only since the Renaissance and the reformation gave them an educated laity to keep up with. Meanwhile, I am happy to observe that, as Morris et al proceed, the pope's big toe peeps more and more plainly through the shoes of the movement in favor of ignorance. Undoubtedly the Catholic church derives her tenacious vitality from fitness to an environment of ignorance. She has nothing to fear from quackery—only from science.

As for Materialism, I must remind friend Morris that I am not a Materialist; and that his brother anti, S. D., is. And I feel like Paul on a similar occasion: "For the Sadducees say there is no resurrection; neither angel nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both." Go it Pharisees and Sadducees! I decline to receive the snaps which either of you means for t'other.

And that reminds me that I have a charming little crow for Morris to pluck with Comrade Morton. Morton says, in the same issue of DISCONTENT, "the knife which cuts the cancer often hurts," (it need not hurt since vivisection has given us chloroform) "but it is not as bad as the disease." The ovaries are a common site for cancer; and Morris has announced that "as a physical culturist" he could prove having the ovaries removed was never beneficial. This is what enabled me to say that, without knowing quite what "a physical culturist" is, I could see he was some sort of a snide. The enemies of physical surgery evidently train very well with those of moral. Experiment, progress in knowledge, is just what doesn't suit either. Anarchists, on the other hand, "com-

bine an unlimited trust in the inherent goodness and wisdom of men with an unlimited distrust and hatred of all the institutions that men have created," because it is the nature of the inherently wise and good to grow wiser, better, and capable of improving on their great grand daddies' methods—such as government, which is older than history, or "physical culture," which is older than medicine and surgery.

But I fear it is a mistake that "stalwart Anarchists" cannot be promoters of the movement in favor of ignorance. They should not be; but "that's no sign," as the ghost of Giles Scroggins said. If the movement in favor of ignorance was confined to priests and their "conscious" allies it would be pretty harmless. The trouble is, it's an octopus, with a hook or a crook for everyone who cares more about something else than increase in knowledge. Is cruelty to animals your pet aversion? "Come into my parlor," says the spider to the fly. Physiology causes animals about a millionth part as much pain as "sport," and is far easier to work up feeling against among "Philistines." Is your zeal for Socialism ahead of your zeal for truth? Then be an anti-Malthusian; and t'ell with the multiplication table! Does your gorge rise at obscenity? Comstock will fit you out directly with "more laws." Or are you just a stalwart Anarchist pure and simple? Then your sympathy will do some good to quacks, who are under the ban of the law, just as it would to firebugs, on similar grounds, and with as much reason. Never mind if their company does harm to you. 'Rah for principle! All which would be very persuasive to me, as well as others, if I had not learned that the very particular objects aimed at must, like any definite objects, be attained, if at all, by the inductive method only, and are defeated by unscientific ones. Experiments on animals chiefly induce our very recent knowledge of their nature. Human ignorance of their nature causes them more suffering every day than all the experiments put together, in a century. Socialism, with marriage and unlimited propagation, may do very well to talk; but it won't work. Comstock laws have produced this practical effect, that the United States, which used to import their obscenity from France, now export to Canada—a sure proof that the trade flourishes. Bolstering up quacks or firebugs can only weaken the effect of the real argument against their punishment, by exploiting the slanderers in disreputable company. I had no idea until lately how much of a pull among liberals the movement in favor of ignorance had got. But the strength of the pull measures the value of my work against it, for the same reason as the difficulty.

Hercules was a favorite of my childhood; and I was particularly impressed with Hawthorne's account of how this hero slew the Lernean hydra. "As fast as I cut off a head," says Hawthorne's Hercules, "two others grew in its place." It seemed to me that this job of killing a hydra must have been like the problem for Willie's cat. Willie, who had passed a good examination in arithmetic, was asked by his dad how long it would take the cat to get out of the well, if she slipped back two feet, as often as she climbed up one. "Pa,"

said Willie, after figuring a great while, "I think that cat has got to hell by this time." You perceive that Willie was a smart boy. All for himself, he had studied out the conception of a minus quantity, which the inventor of algebra considered the true foundation of that science. But Willie wasn't any smarter than I was at six years old; for I thought it clear that the more Hercules killed that hydra, the more live hydra there would be. However, since I fought the modern hydra (the movement in favor of ignorance), I have got on to the old fellow's method. It is true, for every head one cuts off, two others grow. But each has only half the strength of the original head. You may see this illustrated with that neck which Luther abbreviated. There are many heads, instead of one; but they don't amount to much. It is like the vivisector's cruel experiment of in-and-in breeding; by which Newfoundlands, the strongest and briskest of the spaniel kind, can be degenerated into sleepy lapdogs. The really troublesome head is the one which can't be cut off—the general human propensity to believe confident assertions, instead of looking for tangible proofs. I have treated that head as Hercules did—I have buried it under a stone; and I incline to hope that, as far as the liberal press is concerned, it will stay there snapping and snarling for some time, before it digs out again.

It is none of my business to investigate the claims of osteopathy or hydrotherapy (though I happen to know that the latter has long since passed the zenith of its popularity). Let doctors investigate them. The methods of the regular school being inductive, that school will adopt all of these systems except their quackery, when they have proved what that there is anything else; just like was left of Hahnemann's and Jenner's novelties after proper sifting. But meanwhile, I, as a layman, shall trust the inductive practitioners, and regard others with suspicion proportioned to their dogmatism.

Neither Comrade Morton nor any other critic of the regular school has produced anything amounting to evidence of their aiming at a monopoly—certainly not of their succeeding. All schools of medicine (institutions which teach positive truths) are, as far as I know, equally tolerated everywhere. It is only the pretender, who has been through no such school, that can (I admit unjustly; but it is common law) be punished for professing, without possessing, a kind of knowledge on which others' lives may depend. And so can a "regular," who, notwithstanding his sheepskin, proves ignorant of his trade.

I do not think that preaching continence to the women is like Mrs. Partington's broom. Free love is continence. I am sure something is gained by preaching free love to the women "of today;" though probably nothing would have been gained by preaching it to the women of the eighteenth century. But if free love has still a great deal of prejudice to contend against (as is evident); if the Malthusian theory supplies a powerful argument for free love (as can be easily shown); if the theory is true (as it certainly is); do we well to aid State Socialists or any other kind of buncombe demagogues in belittling this truth?

Under a different metaphor (we think in metaphors), I have long been of Comrade Soule's opinion about our relation to other reformers. Trades Unions are the skirmishing light troops (very light); State Socialists a piece de resistance for the enemy's powder; Anarchists the reserve veterans, who have been through all that. But oh dear! that dreadful old fallacy—if we could wake up some day free of all law, "law must inevitably be reenacted for the purpose of, to some extent, preventing people from invading the rights of others." Law is made for no such purpose. It serves no such purpose. It is made to assist landlords, etc., in invading the rights of others. It does not prevent, but impels the lesser thieves to do likewise in their own ways. Comrade Soule has here, in the forcible language of our fathers' good king, Henry VIII, decidedly got the wrong pig by the ear. That Anarchy can only be possible when people are less inclined to invade other people's rights, is true in this sense and no other—that they must be less inclined to boss. Now my knowledge of history teaches me that laws die, with the disposition to make them, in two ways. Sometimes, as Comrade Soule says, they fall gradually into "innocuous desuetude." But not unfrequently they grow worse and worse, till a violent reaction ensues. The signs of the times very strongly indicate that their general dispersal will come by this method of revolutionary crisis.

C. L. JAMES.

## STATE MEDDLING.

The morality that meddles without mending has just been exposed for public adoration in Pennsylvania. A middle-aged man and a young girl got under each other's influence so far that the girl needed a home and such care as maternity hospitals are built to provide. The man did not know which way to turn; but a gleam of sanity led him to disclose the whole affair to his wife, and to ask her advice. The lady cried at first; and then, remembering that he had honored her by consulting her as to what he had better do in such a pinch, she suggested that he bring the girl home. She had not thought how she should act toward this other woman who had come between her and her husband; but when she saw the girl looking so distressed she knew what to do, and took the erring one in her arms. The wife nursed the girl through the crisis and the illness following, and was a mother to her. Afterwards, accepting the situation as it was, with nobody particularly to blame, the household settled down to existence in a mixed state, the man loving both the women, and both loving him and each other.

Such a state of affairs could be expected to last but a few months if not interfered with. There would be a natural disruption in a short time, and the wrong that was done could then be forgotten. But outraged morality appeared on the scene just in time to prevent a healing of the wound by primary intention. The neighbors reported the case to the United Charities, the officers of which seized the girl and her child and then caused the arrest of the man. The girl went into hysterics, and the wife did her best to soothe and comfort her. Having some property of her own, she also offered bail for her husband; but the authorities would not accept it. Now she says she desires to secure a divorce, so that he may be as free to take up with the girl as with herself. She does not appear to desire any advantage over the other party.

I hold that a woman with as much sense as this one displays is better qualified to get her fellow unfortunates out of the tangle they are in than either the officers of the United Charities or the courts of Pennsylvania. If her husband and the girl are responsible to anyone it is to her, and not to her neighbors, the charity mongers, or the police. The law that usurps her function and claims jurisdiction in the case is a chuckle-headed idiot.—G. E. Macdonald, in the Truth Seeker.

## THE LESSON OF THE HOUR.

A majority of this nation cry for vengeance while they mourn. It is to be deplored that the man who shot McKinley claims to be an Anarchist, for the majority who cry for vengeance today are in no mood to stop and study the foundation principles of Anarchy. The few who are always right will stop to reason from cause to effect.

I say it is to be deplored that he claims to be an Anarchist; for it is one of the tenets of Anarchy that none have any right to take life, except in self-defense. The extreme revolutionist may contend that governments as they exist today are a menace to the life and liberty of their subjects. Yet, even from this standpoint, the killing of officials does not rid the people of the yoke that has been placed upon them. We who have censured McKinley for the deaths caused by the war in the Philippines, find as little moral right on the side of the man who tried to kill McKinley. We object to murder in any form. Since the majority cannot acquire by mere aggregation any rights that do not belong to the individual, it follows that the taking of human life, save in the direct act of repelling assault, by individual, military or state, is a direct violation of Anarchist principles. The cause of Anarchy is one of education. Let the ruling class remain the sole aggressors.

Thomas Jefferson said that all governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. Hence, by attempting to govern those who do not give their consent, all governments existing are unjust ones. As an Anarchist, I contend that there can be no liberty under government; hence the abolition of all governments is to be desired as an ideal, giving the people freedom to develop to the highest point their individuality is capable of reaching. This can only be done through educating the people to do away with government itself; and its officials can then live to become useful citizens.

O. A. VERITY.

## THE ABSURDITY OF GOVERNMENT.

This undertaking for another is the blunder which stands in colossal ugliness in the governments of the world. It is the same thing in numbers as in a pair, only not quite so intelligible. I can see well enough a great difference between my setting myself down to a selfcontrol, and my going to make somebody else act after my views; but when a quarter of the human race assume to tell me what I must do, I may be too much disturbed by the circumstances to see so clearly the absurdity of their command. Therefore all public ends look vague and quixotic beside private ones. For any laws but those which men make for themselves, are laughable. . . . This is the history of governments; one man does something which is to bind another. A man, who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking from afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequence! Of all debts, men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these.—Emerson.

## THE FATAL RESULT.

Tidings of the President's death have just been received. The madman's shot was only too sure. No thinking person could have imagined good from such an act; and I cannot believe that any Anarchist can possibly sympathize with it. I opposed the policies of McKinley, during his life, from a sincere belief that they were not good. I mourn his death as the result of a wanton and useless crime. It is a pitiable fact that the unthinking many will look on this deed as a logical outcome of Anarchist teaching, and will inaugurate an era of persecution against all who are unsatisfied with existing conditions. If I thought that Anarchy led to assassination, I would not be an Anarchist. But the act of a criminal madman must not be suffered to bring discredit on a peaceful propaganda on behalf of a higher individuality. Let us prove to our calumniators the magnitude of their error.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## HOME NEWS.

G. W. Hoover is here again on a visit.

E. E. Martin, of Olympia, paid us a brief visit this week.

George Jones has returned from a few days' visit in Seattle.

Gertie Vose has now been joined by her father, O. B. Vose.

J. W. Gaskine, who has been here for several months, left us last week.

Mr. Haslam, of Burley, has been here, looking over the land in this vicinity.

Mary C. Parker is enjoying a visit from her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Blanche Parker, of Pine Island, Minn.

A pleasant and well-attended musicale was held at the Adams-Minor home on Tuesday evening of last week.

Kenneth Verity, Harry and Katie Minor, Norman Mueller and Mida King have gone to pick hops in the fields near Orting.

Mr. Wilcox, a representative of the Tacoma Evening News, spent a day with us last week, investigating our beliefs and modes of life.

Louis Haiman and Annie Gentis came out on Sunday, the 8th. Louis only stopped over night; while Annie remained for a few days' visit.

## HOW TO GET TO HOME.

All those intending to make us a visit will come to Tacoma and take the steamer TYPHOON for HOME. The steamer leaves Commercial dock every afternoon except Saturday and Sunday at 2:30 o'clock. Leaves Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. Be sure to ask the captain to let you off at HOME.

## RECEIPTS.

Spring Valley Group \$5, Austin \$1, Haslam 50c, Levison 50c, Martin 50c, Hicklin 50c, Bryan 30c.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS  
FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT

- Perfect Motherhood. Lois Waisbrooker. 1 00  
Irene or the Road to Freedom. Sada Bailey Fowler. 1 00  
Business Without Money. W. H. Van Ornum. 50  
Helen Harlow's Vow. Lois Waisbrooker. 25  
God and the State. By Michael Bakunin. 05  
Moribund Society and Anarchy. By Jean Grave. 25  
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta. Is It All a Dream? By Jas. F. Morton, Jr. 10  
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition. W. E. Nevill. 05  
The Chicago Martyrs; The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court, and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab. 25  
Five Propaganda Leaflets on the Sex Question. 10  
Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs What the Young Need to Know. E. C. Walker 30  
The Revival of Puritanism. E. C. Walker 10  
Appeal to the Young. Kropotkin. 05  
Mating or Marrying, Which? W. H. Van Ornum. 05  
The Evolution of the Family. Jonathan Mayo Crane. 05  
Love in Freedom. Moses Harman. 05  
The Evolution of Modesty. Jonathan Mayo Crane. 05  
The Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harman. 05  
Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman. 05  
Institutional Marriage. M. Harman. 05  
A Tale of the Strassburg Geese. The Coming Woman. Lillie D. White. 05  
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Variety vs. Monogamy. E. C. Walker 05  
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## MEETING.

The Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 909 Market street, San Francisco, Calif. Free discussion. Public invited.



Contains a full, plain, and easy reading treatise on "Health and Disease, with Recipes," all the average reader can profitably learn of personal hygiene and common diseases (including special, separate chapters for men and women); all right up-to-date, and fully illustrated with hundreds of photo-engravings and chromo-lithographs. Contains also the already popular "Plain Home Talk" about the relations of the sexes and social customs in all ages and all countries, with "original and startling" suggestions for social reforms; newly revised, enlarged, and well illustrated. All is "heart to heart" plain home talk from a clear thinking, plain speaking, liberal minded medical author of over forty years' experience. Nearly 1,000,000 of his former books sold. A curious book for curious people, and a sensible book for everyone. Answers 1001 delicate questions one would like to ask his regular physician and yet doesn't want to.

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Articles of Incorporation and Agreement of  
the Mutual Home Association.

Be it remembered, that on this 17th day of January, 1898, we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of Washington.

That the name of the corporation shall be The Mutual Home Association.

The purpose of the association is to assist its members in obtaining and building homes for themselves and to aid in establishing better social and moral conditions.

The location of this corporation shall be at Home, located on Joes Bay, Pierce County, State of Washington; and this association may establish in other places in this state branches of the same where two or more persons may wish to locate.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of the land he or she may select, and one dollar for a certificate, and subscribing to this agreement.

The affairs of this association shall be conducted by a board of trustees, elected as may be provided for by the by-laws.

A certificate of membership shall entitle the legal holder to the use and occupancy of not less than one acre of land nor more than two (less all public streets) upon payment annually into the treasury of the association a sum equal to the taxes assessed against the tract of land he or she may hold.

All money received from memberships shall be used only for the purpose of purchasing land. The real estate of this association shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of. A unanimous vote of all members of this association shall be required to change these articles of incorporation.

No officer, or other person, shall ever be empowered to contract any debt in the name of this association.

All certificates of membership shall be for life.

Upon the death of any member a certificate of membership shall be issued covering the land described in certificate of membership of deceased:

First: To person named in will or bequest.

Second: Wife or husband.

Third: Children of deceased; if there is more than one child they must decide for themselves.

All improvements upon land covered by certificate of membership shall be personal property, and the association as such has no claim thereto.

Any member has the right of choice of any land not already chosen or set aside for a special purpose.

## CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.

This is to certify that has subscribed to the articles of incorporation and agreement and paid into the treasury of the Mutual Home Association the sum of

... dollars, which entitles

to the use and occupancy for life of lot block ... as platted by the association, upon complying with the articles of agreement.

SEND 10 CENTS for specimens of 10 liberal papers and 10 tracts, circulars and sample of stocking yarn, or 3 cents for a copy of "Little Freethinker." Elmina Drake Glenker, Snowville, Va.